

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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O P 181511Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO USDEL SECRETARY IN JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 0507

EXDIS

DEPT FOR COUNSELOR NIMETZ

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1, 3
TAGS: PEPR, CY, TU, GR
SUBJ: URQUHART'S COMMENTS ON UNSYG'S TRIP TO ANKARA, NICOSIA
AND ATHENS

1. I MET WITH BRIAN URQUHART AT 5 P.M. JANUARY 17 FOR A
RUNDOWN ON UNSYG WALDHEIM'S VISITS TO ANKARA, NICOSIA AND
ATHENS. URQUHART SAID HE WAS PLEASED TO SHARE WHAT HE HAD
WITH SECRETARY VANCE BUT SUSPECTED THE SECRETARY ALREADY
KNEW MOST OF WHAT HE HAD TO SAY. HE CAUTIONED THAT
BECAUSE OF ECEVIT'S EXCESSIVE SENSITIVITY ABOUT "INTER-
FERENCE" BY OTHERS IN TURKISH AFFAIRS -- EVEN WORSE THAN
DEMIREL'S, HE SAID -- IT MIGHT THROW A MONKEY WRENCH
INTO ANY HOPE FOR A SUCCESSFUL NEW DEPARTURE IF ECEVIT
LEARNED THAT THE U.N. TEAM HAD FREELY SHARED ITS VIEWS
WITH US. URQUHART ASKED THAT U.S. SIDE NOT DISPLAY
TO TURKS ANY KNOWLEDGE THAT COULD ONLY HAVE COME FROM SYG.
HE KNOWS SECRETARY WILL EXERCISE UTMOST DISCRETION AND
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ASKS THAT EVERYONE ELSE WITH ACCESS TO THIS INFORMATION
ALSO DO SO.

2. ANKARA: IN FOUR TO FIVE HOURS OF MEETINGS WITH
WALDHEIM AND HIS STAFF, ECEVIT WAS REASONABLE, CHARMING
AND FORTHCOMING -- EXCEPT ON THE MOST IMPORTANT TOPIC,
THE SUBSTANCE OF PROPOSALS HE WOULD MAKE. HE SAID IT

HAD BEEN WRONG OF THE PREVIOUS GOT TO HOLD BACK ON SUBSTANCE AND PROMISED TO PUT FORWARD TERRITORIAL PROPOSALS WITH A MAP AND A REVISED CONSTITUTIONAL PLAN. APPARENTLY SPEAKING FOR THE RECORD IN THE PRESENCE OF OTHER TURKISH OFFICIALS, ECEVIT ASKED WALDHEIM TO TELL GREEKS NOT TO EXPECT TOO MUCH FROM HIS NEW PROPOSALS BECAUSE THERE WERE LIMITS TO HOW FAR THE TURKS COULD GO, ALTHOUGH THEY WOULD DO EVERYTHING THEY COULD. LATER IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION WALDHEIM REMINDED HIM THAT AS PRIME MINISTER IN 1974 HE HAD MENTIONED A TERRITORIAL REDUCTION OF 10 PERCENT AND HOPED SOMETHING LIKE THAT COULD STILL BE DONE. ECEVIT REPLIED THAT THREE YEARS HAVE GONE BY AND THINGS HAVE SOLIDIFIED ON BOTH SIDES. THE DEMARCATION LINE WAS STILL NEGOTIABLE WITHIN REASONABLE BOUNDS BUT THERE WAS LESS FLEXIBILITY THAN BEFORE, BUT HE PROMISED TO DO THE BEST HE POSSIBLY COULD.

3. ECEVIT REPEATED HIS FAMILIAR VIEWS ON BIZONALITY, FEDERALISM AND A UNITARY STATE BUT EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ON FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, WHICH HE SAID COULD COME ABOUT ONLY GRADUALLY, AND FREEDOM OF SETTLEMENT, WHICH WOULD BE LIMITED IN SCOPE BECAUSE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAD NO INTENTION OF EVER BEING SWAMPED BY GREEK CYPRIOTS AGAIN.

4. HAVING FAILED TO FIND OUT ECEVIT'S TERRITORIAL INTENTIONS, WALDHEIM ASKED HIM ABOUT HIS CONSTITUTIONAL
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PROPOSALS. ECEVIT SAID HE COULDN'T GET INTO THE SUBSTANCE OF THOSE NOW BUT AFTER THE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IT WOULD TAKE ABOUT TWO WEEKS TO WORK OUT THE DETAILED PROPOSAL AND GET DENKTASH ABOARD. THEN HE WOULD LIKE THE INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS TO RECONVENE AT THE SOONEST POSSIBLE TIME, PERHAPS IN FEBRUARY. WALDHEIM CAUTIONED THAT IT WAS BETTER TO PROCEED SLOWLY UNTIL NECESSARY PREPARATIONS HAD BEEN MADE IN ORDER TO MINIMIZE THE CHANCES OF ANOTHER FAILURE; HE THOUGHT MARCH WOULD BE THE EARLIEST THEY COULD BE RESUMED.

5. URQUHART SAID THE NEW ELEMENT IN THE ANKARA TALKS HAD BEEN TURKISH WILLINGNESS TO PUT FORWARD SUBSTANTIVE PROPOSALS ON BOTH ISSUES AND A TERRITORIAL MAP WHICH WOULD GET THE BALL BACK INTO PLAY. HE GRADED ECEVIT'S PERFORMANCE AS 100 PERCENT ON CHARM, CHARISMA AND SINCERITY, GAVE HIM ALMOST AS GOOD MARKS ON PROCEDURES, BUT MARKED HIM WAY DOWN ON SUBSTANCE, ALTHOUGH ECEVIT HAD PROMISED IMPROVEMENTS THERE. URQUHART SAID EVERY TEN MINUTES ECEVIT HAD REEMPHASIZED THAT THE TURKS WANTED TO DO THIS ON THEIR OWN WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM THE OUTSIDE. ANY OVERT PRESSURE ON THEM WAS THEREFORE LIKELY TO BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE.

6. CYPRUS: KYPRIANOU WAS EXTREMELY DISTRUSTFUL OF ECEVIT'S INTENTIONS, DIDN'T THINK ANYTHING HAD REALLY CHANGED, AND KEPT REPEATING THAT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ON CYPRUS MUST BE IMPLEMENTED. IN URQUHART'S VIEW, KYPRIANOU HAS BECOME MORE POMPOUS, SMALL-MINDED AND NEGATIVE THAN BEFORE, AND BECAUSE OF THIS IS LIKELY TO BE MORE RIGID AND DOGMATIC THAN MAKARIOS IN NEGOTIATIONS.

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7. WHEN WALDHEIM FINALLY GOT KYPRIANOU TO FOCUS ON RENEWED INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, KYPRIANOU MADE THE SUGGESTION THAT THE TURKISH SIDE FIRST GIVE WALDHEIM ITS PROPOSALS TO DECIDE WHETHER THERE WAS A REAL BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS. IF THERE WAS, TALKS COULD RESUME AFTER CONSULTATION WITH OTHERS. WALDHEIM ACCEPTED THIS SUGGESTION AND THINKS IT MAY BE HELPFUL IN PREVENTING ANOTHER EMPTY PERFORMANCE IN VIENNA AND THE COLLAPSE OF NEGOTIATIONS. KYPRIANOU WANTED TO DELAY THE START OF THE TALKS AS LONG AS POSSIBLE, SAYING HE NEEDED TIME TO ORGANIZE A NEW GOVERNMENT AFTER THE ELECTIONS AND THOUGHT THE END OF MARCH WAS THE EARLIEST TALKS COULD BEGIN. URQUHART HAS THE FEELING THE GREEK CYPRIOTS ARE MOSTLY WORRIED ABOUT THE TURKISH EMBARGO BEING LIFTED AND DON'T WANT TO MAKE IT EASIER BY STARTING NEGOTIATIONS SOON. KYPRIANOU AGREED TO VIENNA AS THE VENUE FOR THE RESUMED TALKS BUT KEPT SAYING THAT IF THEY WERE AS HOLLOW AS BEFORE HE WOULD

TAKE THE MATTER BACK TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL. HE WAS
OPPOSED TO DIRECT INVOLVEMENT OF GOG AND GOT IN THE
NEGOTIATIONS, AND WALDHEIM HAD ASSURED HIM ECEVIT WAS NOT
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INSISTING ON THIS EITHER.

8. WALDHEIM FOUND DENKTASH MORE RESTRAINED AND MODERATE
THAN USUAL. HE HAD AGREED ALMOST IMMEDIATELY TO THE
SUGGESTION THAT THE TURKISH PROPOSALS BE EXAMINED BY
WALDHEIM FIRST TO SEE IF THERE WAS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS.
DENKTASH EVEN ADDED THE SUGGESTION THAT THE NEXT STEP
SHOULD BE A DIPLOMATIC SHUTTLE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES TO
NARROW THEIR DIFFERENCES BEFORE THE PRINCIPALS BECAME
INVOLVED. HE ALSO AGREED THAT WALDHEIM COULD STATE
PUBLICLY UPON LEAVING NICOSIA THAT THIS PROCEDURE HAD
BEEN ADOPTED.

9. THE SYG'S LUNCH ATTENDED BY BOTH KYPRIANOU AND DENKTASH
QUICKLY TURNED SOUR, URQUHART SAID. KYPRIANOU, WHO HADN'T
MET DENKTASH SINCE 1965, WAS VERY NERVOUS AND KEPT
HAMMERING AWAY AT MAJORITY VOTING FOR THE MISSING PERSONS
COMMITTEE. DENKTASH ADAMANTLY AND LOUDLY RESISTED AND
TOLD KYPRIANOU HE SHOULD WAIT AND SEE WHETHER THE
TURKISH CYPRIOTS OBSTRUCTED THE INVESTIGATIONS; IF SO,
THE GREEK SIDE COULD TEAR UP THE AGREEMENT AND TAKE
OTHER MEASURES. THROUGHOUT THE LUNCH, DENKTASH DOMINATED
THE SCENE WITH HIS NOISY MANNER AND OUTRAGEOUS JOKES.

10. ATHENS: URQUHART ASID WALDHEIM HAD HAD A GOOD
MEETING WITH CARAMANLIS THE PREVIOUS DAY ON ALL ASPECTS
OF THE SITUATION. CARAMANLIS WON'T ACCEPT A PACKAGE
DEAL COVERING BOTH CYPRUS AND THE AEGEAN BUT WOULD NOT
OBJECT TO SIMULTANEOUS TALKS ON THE TWO SUBJECTS. HE
ASSURED WALDHEIM HE WOULD ACT VERY POSITIVELY IF HE
BECAME CONVINCED ECEVIT WAS ACTING IN GOOD FAITH, AND HE
EXPRESSED THE HOPE THE TURKISH PROPOSALS WOULD NOT BE SO
EXTREME AS TO LEAD TO IMMEDIATE REJECTION. CARAMANLIS
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SAID HE WANTS THE TALKS TO SUCCEED AND REPEATED HIS
FAMILIAR LINE THAT GREECE COULD ACCEPT ANY SETTLEMENT
ACCEPTABLE TO GREEK CYPRIOTS. HE NOTED THE DIFFICULTY
OF CONDUCTING DIPLOMACY IN PUBLIC AND HOPED THESE
NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE CARRIED ON IN PRIVATE. URQUHART
AGREED, RECALLING THAT IN THE PAST ANYTHING GIVEN THE

GREEK CYPRIOTS WAS IMMEDIATELY LEAKED TO THE PRESS.

11. LAST NIGHT AT PRESIDENT TSATSOS' DINNER WALDHEIM DREW ME ASIDE AND ASKED ME TO PASS HIS WARMEST REGARDS AND BEST WISHES FOR A SUCCESSFUL TRIP TO SECRETARY VANCE. WALDHEIM APPRECIATES WHAT THE SECRETARY IS DOING TO SUPPORT HIS OWN EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT A SOLUTION. HE BELIEVES THERE ARE ENOUGH NEW ELEMENTS NOW TO MAKE US HOPEFUL IF THE EFFORT DOESN'T GET OFF THE TRACKS. WALDHEIM SAID HE HAD URGED ECEVIT TO COME UP WITH SOMETHING SOLID AND HAD URGED CARAMANLIS TO CONSIDER THE TURKISH PROPOSALS CONSTRUCTIVELY, NOT AS A FINAL OFFER BUT AS A NEGOTIABLE STARTING POINT. WALDHEIM WANTED THE SECRETARY TO KNOW OF ECEVIT'S REPEATED ASSERTION THAT WHILE HE VALUES THE COUNSEL OF TURKEY'S FRIENDS, HE WILL NOT ACCEDE TO PRESSURE OF ANY KIND. WALDHEIM BELIEVES IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE SECRETARY, WHILE AVOIDING ANY APPEARANCE OF ACTING ON BEHALF OF THE SYG, WOULD TACTFULLY URGE ECEVIT TO MAKE PROPOSALS WITH ENOUGH SUBSTANCE IN THEM SO THE GREEK SIDE HAS NO EXCUSE FOR REJECTING THEM OUT OF HAND.

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